

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 12839

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, CCD, PORG
SUBJECT: COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT: MEMBERSHIP

REF: GENEVA 12791

1. WITH VISIT OF UNGA PRESIDENT MOJSOV TO GENEVA LAST WEEK AND SUBSEQUENT ACTIVITY OF MEXICAN AMBASSADOR GARCIA ROBLES ACTING FOR MOJSOV, PACE OF PROCESS OF SELECTING ADDITIONAL MEMBERS FOR CD HAS STEPPED UP MARKEDLY. OUT OF THIS RECENT ACTIVITY HAS BEGUN TO EMERGE A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHERE THERE IS AGREEMENT AND WHERE PROBLEMS IN ACHIEVING CONSENSUS REMAIN. THERE FOLLOWS CCD DEL'S VIEW OF CURRENT STATUS OF SELECTION PROCESS AND HOW IT MAY MOVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

2. THE FRENCH NOW SEEM TO APPRECIATE THAT THE SELECTION PROCESS WILL NOT TAKE PLACE THROUGH THE REGIONAL GROUPS IN NEW YORK AS THEY HAD ORIGINALLY WISHED. THEY SEEM TO BE
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GIVING TACIT APPROVAL TO THE ACTIVITIES IN GENEVA WHICH WERE STIMULATED BY THE MOJSOV VISIT, BUT WILL NOT BE TAKING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIONS AND APPEAR TO BE RELYING ON THE US AND THE UK TO PROTECT OVERALL WESTERN INTERESTS. AN APPARENT FRENCH OBJECTIVE IS TO MAINTAIN THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION SO THAT A FINAL DECISION TO JOIN THE THE CD (WHICH THEY STILL CONTEND HINGES ON THE FINAL

MAKEUP OF THE CD) WILL COME AS THE CLIMAX OF THE SELECTION PROCESS.

3. COMPARING UNOFFICIAL LISTS OF PREFERENCES WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN US BY THE SOVIETS, THE UK AND GARCIA ROBLES (PURPORTEDLY REPRESENTING VIEWS OF NON-ALIGNED GROUP) THERE IS AGREEMENT ON AUSTRALIA AND ALGERIA AS TWO OF THE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS, ALTHOUGH THE FINAL FATE OF EVEN THESE TWO CANDIDACIES COULD BE AFFECTED BY FUTURE TRADEOFFS. SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES ARE ALSO GETTING STRONG BACKING (SRI LANKA, VENEZUELA, INDONESIA, AND KENYA, BUT NONE IS ON EVERY LIST.)

4. THE EMERGING CRUNCH QUESTIONS ARE: (1) A SEAT FOR AN ADDITIONAL NATO COUNTRY (WHICH ONLY THE US AND THE UK AMONG THE KEY COUNTRIES ARE SO FAR ADVOCATING), AND (2) THE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP FOR CUBA. GARCIA ROBLES HAS INCLUDED CUBA ON HIS SHORT LIST AND THE SOVIETS ARE PUSHING HARD FOR CUBAN MEMBERSHIP WHILE THE FRENCH ARE NOT OPPOSED. ONCE AGAIN ONLY THE US AND UK HAVE NOT THUS FAR INCLUDED CUBA ON THEIR LISTS, ALTHOUGH PRIVATE STATEMENTS BY UK REPRESENTATIVES INDICATE THAT IN THE END THE UK EXPECTS CUBA TO BE ACCEPTED.

5. FROM OUR READING OF GARCIA ROBLES' LIST, WHICH ALLOWS FOR ONE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHICH

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ONE, IT APPEARS THAT THE NON-ALIGNED WOULD ACCEPT ANY WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY ON WHICH THE MAJOR POWERS COULD AGREE. THUS, THE NATO MEMBERSHIP QUESTION BOILS DOWN TO ACHIEVEMENT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE US (WITH UK BACKING) AND THE USSR. A SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE HAS TOLD US THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE "QUITE FLEXIBLE" ON SELECTION OF OTHER CANDIDATES IF CUBA WERE ACCEPTED. THIS COULD MEAN THAT IN THE END THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A NATO COUNTRY.

6. A SECOND MAJOR CONCLUSION WHICH SEEMS TO BE EMERGING IS THAT THE NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL MEMBERS WILL HAVE TO EXCEED FIVE IF WE ARE TO GET A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE MEMBERSHIP QUESTION. EVEN THE SOVIETS SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THE INEVITABILITY OF A LARGER NUMBER AND INDICATED TO MOJSOV AND OTHERS THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO BEYOND FIVE.

7. IN SUM, WHILE THERE MAY WELL BE SOME FURTHER JOCKEYING ON CERTAIN COUNTRIES (E.G. SRI LANKA VERSUS INDONESIA) THE KEY TO ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE MEMBERSHIP PROBLEM IS A RESOLUTION OF THE CUBA AND NATO QUESTIONS WORKED OUT

BETWEEN THE US AND USSR. IN VIEW OF SOVIET INSISTANCE ON CUBA, SUPPORT BY NON-ALIGNED (MANY OF WHOM REGARD IT AS A TRADE-OFF FOR AUSTRALIA) AND ACCEPTANCE BY FRANCE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO BLOCK CUBA'S CANDIDACY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT APPEARS TO US THAT A CUBA FOR A NATO MEMBER TRADE-OFF IS ALMOST INEVITABLE, ASSUMING THE US WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON AN ADDITIONAL NATO COUNTRY. VANDEN HEUVEL

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